

THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE BULLETIN

FEBRUARY 6, 1943

VOL. VIII, No. 189—PUBLICATION 1875

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The War

THE SOVIET VICTORY AT STALINGRAD

[Released to the press by the White House February 5]

The President, on February 4, sent the following message to Premier Joseph V. Stalin, Supreme Commander of the Armed Forces of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics:

"As Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces of the United States of America, I congratulate you on the brilliant victory at Stalingrad of the armies under your supreme command. The one hundred and sixty-two days of epic battle for the city which has forever honored your name and the decisive result

which all Americans are celebrating today will remain one of the proudest chapters in this war of the peoples united against Nazism and its emulators.

"The commanders and fighters of your armies at the front and the men and women who have supported them in factory and field have combined not only to cover with glory their country's arms, but to inspire by their example fresh determination among all the United Nations to bend every energy to bring about the final defeat and unconditional surrender of the common enemy."

VISIT OF PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT TO TRINIDAD

[Released to the press by the White House January 31]

The following despatch, datelined Port-of-Spain, Trinidad, British West Indies, was received by the White House January 30:¹

The people of this island of Trinidad, vital defense outpost of the Panama Canal, turned out en masse to give President Roosevelt an enthusiastic welcome as the American Chief Executive made a short stop here on his way home from the Allied War Council in Casablanca.

The President, intent on inspecting the United States Army and Navy installations on this island, debarked from his plane at Waller Field temporarily and drove through the greater part of Trinidad.

¹This despatch was signed by Capt. George E. Durno, Air Corps, U.S.A., former White House correspondent for the International News Service, who accompanied the President on his trip.

The big surprise for Mr. Roosevelt came when he saw the sidewalks lined with enthusiastic cheering citizens as his motorcade passed through Port-of-Spain, the island's principal city.

It was the first time since he left the United States early in January that any populace, in either Africa or South America, had been aware that the American Commander in Chief was in their very midst.

On the northward swing from Brazil, where an agreement had been entered into with Getulio Vargas—first, that Dakar should never again become a potential Axis threat to world shipping; and second, that counter-offensive action against U-boat raids on shipping must be redoubled—President Roosevelt called specifically for a stop at Trinidad. As a result of the deal with Great Britain, involving ex-

change of United States destroyers for bases in the West Indies, Army and Naval forces were stationed in the Trinidad area.

Top-ranking officers of this command were waiting to receive the presidential party at Waller Field when the two Army Transport Command planes eased down onto the runway.

The President was especially pleased to see his personal Chief of Staff, Admiral William D. Leahy, who was waiting at the airport when the big plane arrived there. Admiral Leahy had started with the President for the Casablanca conference but was forced by an attack of influenza to remain in Trinidad until the President returned.

After assuring himself that the former United States Ambassador to France was well, the President expressed regret that Admiral Leahy had not been able to attend the Casablanca conference.

The Commander of the Trinidad Naval Operating Base, Rear Admiral J. B. Oldendorf; the Commanding General of the Trinidad Base Command, Maj. Gen. Henry Conger Pratt; the Commanding General of the Trinidad Mobile Forces, Brig. Gen. Owen Summers; and the Commanding Officer of Waller Field, Col. Baird

Johnson, along with Admiral Leahy, joined in welcoming the President.

A motorcade was standing by, and Mr. Roosevelt was taken on a tour to inspect the military reservation at Fort Read. The group then drove over the Churchill-Roosevelt Highway to Port-of-Spain.

The "grapevine" had obviously passed the word along that there was a distinguished visitor present. Americans, English, and natives were on hand and gave enthusiastic notice that the visit of the President was welcome. Smilingly, Mr. Roosevelt acknowledged the tribute.

The official party next examined the large naval base, but not before the Chief Executive paused at its entrance and congratulated the Police Commissioner, Mr. Mueller, on the efficient arrangements.

The President entertained the British Governor of Trinidad, Sir Bede Clifford, and his wife at tea. Sir Bede, as former Governor of Nassau, was an old friend of the President.

With Harry Hopkins, Capt. John L. McCrea, Rear Admiral Ross T. McIntire, General Summers, General Pratt, Admiral Oldendorf, and Admiral Leahy, the President had a late dinner.

STATEMENTS OF GENERAL GIRAUD REGARDING PROBLEMS IN FRENCH NORTH AFRICA

[Released to the press February 2]

Excerpts from Guy Ramsey's interview with General Giraud, French Commander in Chief in French North Africa, in the *London News Chronicle*, to which President Roosevelt invited attention in his press conference February 2, follow:

In this interview Ramsey states that Giraud "spoke with amazing frankness of many of his problems for he believes it is essential that Britain and Washington should fully understand both what those problems are and his methods of solving them—methods which he states may be open to criticism from people who are not so intimately acquainted with France

and with French Africa as he is." . . . And then, Ramsey goes on: "half the population of Algiers still calls de Gaulle 'traitor' because they believe his only reason for coming to Britain was to gain decorations, high rank or money (yes this is what a considerable proportion of the people here genuinely believe) and while it is commonly said that the two French generals are like a couple of prima donnas manoeuvring for the centre of the stage General Giraud said bluntly: 'the British are right to support de Gaulle. He is the only Frenchman who has spoken for two years with the voice of France. I am not only in accord with him, I am one of his greatest admirers as a soldier and for what he has done from London'. Here is a sec-

and example of General Giraud's grip on problems. 'Doubtless,' he said, 'it is being asked why I do not clear out every man of Vichy from my Government. I will tell you why. In the first place I need trained administrators. There are not so many trained men in North Africa available. In the second place not all men who have held office under Vichy are, in the sense one uses the phrase, men of Vichy. For instance, Laval is a man of Vichy and so is Peyrouton. That is, both held office under the Vichy regime. Peyrouton knows this country. He is an able man. The man he replaced was not sufficiently energetic.' (Algiers is the location of the replacement.) "Do you think I would have called in a man like Laval no matter how able? There are good men, decent men, who have worked for Vichy—and it is folly to call them men of Vichy merely because they have held office. Peyrouton for example is no man of Vichy in that sense—if he had been I would not have sent for him.

"Boisson (the Governor of Dakar) is another. I have been down to French West Africa. It is magnificently administered—I have been to the Ivory Coast and all the other colonies under his jurisdiction and all are equally well governed—and Boisson although holding office under Vichy never allowed a *boche* in Dakar. Do you think I am going to throw out men like that, men who are capable patriots?"

Urging necessity of proceeding gradually in order to avoid "revolution" and unnecessary bloodshed Giraud went on to say to Ramsey: "I have the Moslem problem and the Jewish problem and I am dealing with both progressively. I am not going to try to solve them either by a stroke of the pen or a stroke of the sword: I know North Africa—I have made my career here—and I know that too swift reversals in this country mean trouble. I do not want trouble. The only trouble I want is trouble for the *boche*". Giraud went on to emphasize that he would use members of the Sol, Communists, Conservatives or anyone under the sole criterion that they want to fight Germans and not engage in politics. (Here the President said this was not a

bad line for any country these days.) He made an eloquent plea for modern arms for his army as soon as possible—"I believe I am convinced, they will come." (At this point the President again interpolated mentioning "raised sights".) He went on: "as for me I am not thinking only of North Africa. I am thinking of France herself and I am thinking of one million two hundred thousand Frenchmen imprisoned in Germany. I have been a prisoner and every day those men remain prisoners, every day that France remains enslaved and occupied, every one of those days for me counts double. I have seen my men fight, I say. They are fighting now and they are fighting well but with what? . . . but with what equipment and especially when they see British and American equipment beside them and know they have got to be helped in every action by British or American troops for the very reason of this equipment—what will happen to their morale if they have to wait too long? For look, I have been in France since my escape from Germany. I know that France is ready to rise and fight as we are fighting. I know my own men are highly trained enough to handle rapidly whatever modern weapons are given them.

"And it is right that France should fight to free herself. It is not the duty of Britain and America to free France—it is the duty of France to free herself with British and American help.

"France must regain not only her country and her empire: France must regain her old Frenchness, her old confidence. Then only will France really be free. Above all, it is necessary for Britain and America to understand our problems and even my problems. For that very reason I am hoping to send to London and Washington a small commission of first-class men, who know England and the English and know the Americans, to create a real liaison. Meantime, if you can do anything to present the true facts in their true colours you will not only be the friend of France but you will help more than a little to win the war."

ADDRESS BY THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE AT THE COMMENCEMENT EXERCISES OF THE UNIVERSITY OF MARYLAND¹

[Released to the press February 4]

I am deeply grateful to President Byrd for having afforded me the privilege of being present at these commencement exercises of the University of Maryland.

It is with a feeling of very real humility that I have accepted this invitation to say these words of Godspeed to this graduating class. For a man who is sitting behind a desk in times like these necessarily feels very humble when he speaks to his fellow citizens who are about to risk their lives for their nation's freedom.

Some of you, as soon as you leave the University, are joining the military, the naval, or the air forces of your country. Some of you will undertake some form of civilian activity directly connected with the war effort. All of you will contribute in one way or another to the defense of the highest interests of the United States in this most critical hour of our national history.

We sometimes hear it said, all too frequently I think, that the cause for which we are fighting has not been made sufficiently plain. I feel you will agree with me that the issues of this conflict in which our people have been forced to engage are everlastingly clear. We, the people of the United States, are fighting to preserve our own liberties and our own independence. We are fighting in order to defeat a group of tyrannies, personifying all that which is most brutish and most evil in mankind, who have thought that they could dominate by force and treachery the whole world. And we are fighting, I hope and I believe, in order to create a world of the future in which the smallest nation, as well as the largest nation, may find itself safe, and in which men and women can live out their lives in peace, in individual liberty, and in security.

I wonder if you realize what the United States means to the rest of the world, particu-

larly to the peoples who today are living in the slavery imposed by Hitler. I wonder if you appreciate fully what the prestige of this country of yours actually is, and how great is the hope which has been kindled in the hearts and minds of men and women throughout the world because of the fact that your country is joined to the other members of the United Nations in this battle for freedom.

That hope rests, of course, in part upon the knowledge that the power of this nation is so great, now that the miracle of our initial war effort has been accomplished, as to make it clear beyond the shadow of any doubt that we shall achieve the victory which is our objective. But that hope rests also upon something else. It rests upon the moral character of the United States. The peoples of the earth know that the United States had no selfish ends in view when it engaged in this battle. They know that we desire no inch of territory outside of our own possessions. They know that we covet the property of no other people and that we have no desire to dominate any other race. They know that we have already granted freedom to the people for whom for a time we served as trustees. They know and they hope that if this country is willing to exercise its moral strength to the same extent as it is now prepared to make felt its physical strength, the ideals for which the American people stand and in which they believe can be realized.

It can never be made too clear, nor reiterated too often, that the foreign policy of the people of the United States, exactly like their domestic policies, should only be determined from the standpoint of what the American people believe is their real, their practical, self-interest. Our foreign policy must not be—and in the long run never will be—based upon emotional altruism nor sentimental aspiration. What we should all of us be asking ourselves day in and day out, is not only what policies this country should adopt after the war in order to make sure that our security and our best interests

¹ Delivered by the Honorable Sumner Welles at College Park, Md., Feb. 4, 1943.

are safeguarded but also what this country of ours could have done in the past in order to prevent, or at least to make less likely, the rise of the conditions which have permitted the outbreak of this great world struggle in which we are now engaged.

I doubt that many thinking men and women today can fail to recognize the fact that if the United States had been willing a generation ago to bear its fair share of the responsibility for the maintenance of world order, the birth and the fantastic growth of those forces which crystallized into Hitlerism and Fascism and aggressive Japanese militarism would have been far less probable. From the standpoint of our selfish interest alone the cost to the American people of our assumption of such responsibilities during the 25 years that have now passed would have been infinitely less than the cost of the life and the treasure which we are now called upon to bear in order to achieve the total victory which is indispensable if our country and our civilization are to survive.

In the positive sense, the free peoples of the New World share no responsibility for the outbreak of this world upheaval. What we in the Americas have wanted was to live at peace and to enjoy the liberties which the struggles of our forefathers conferred upon us. But in the negative sense, far too many of us here in the United States at least have failed to appreciate the basic fact that in the world of today not even a hemisphere can live in peace and enjoy its liberty, much less achieve prosperity, if the rest of the world is going up in flames. For that cardinal error we cannot disclaim our full share of responsibility.

In order to force from the enemies of mankind

that unconditional surrender which is the only basis upon which this war can end, we require and we are fortunately obtaining the loyal and the unwavering cooperation for our armies, for our navies, and for our air power of the other members of the United Nations. We all of us recognize that this type of military and naval collaboration is essential in order to expedite the ultimate victory. Is it not equally true that the same form of cooperation is just as indispensable in the years to come, after the battle is won, in order to make certain that peace is maintained, that international prosperity is assured, and that the human rights and liberties in which we believe are made everlastingly secure?

As I see it, that is the greatest problem which lies before you as you graduate from this university and undertake the task of helping to defend your country. You who will be doing the fighting and the working which will make it possible for us to gain this victory must equally be called upon to share in the determination of the course which your government follows at the conclusion of the war. You have before you as signals of warning the mistakes of judgment and the lack of foresight of my generation and of the generation which preceded mine.

The great question which lies before all of us is the question of how our people can best assure the safety of our nation in the years to come and can best safeguard the individual security of each of its citizens.

In its solution surely the sacrifices which we are making today, and the still greater sacrifices which we will yet be called upon to make, will light the road toward the attainment of the goal for which we strive.

ADDRESS BY THE FORMER AMERICAN AMBASSADOR TO JAPAN, JANUARY 31¹

[Released to the press January 31]

The war which we fight today is a war for freedom. We and our allies went to war re-

¹ Delivered by the Honorable Joseph C. Grew on the Freedom House broadcast, Jan. 31, 1943, over station WJSV, Washington, D. C.

luctantly. We went to war, one people at a time, to defend the elemental security of our homes and lives. The Chinese in 1931 and 1937 in self-defense, the British and French in 1939 to assist a beleaguered Poland; Norway, Luxembourg, Holland, Belgium, Greece, and Yugo-

slavia in 1940; the Russians and ourselves together with nine of the other American republics in 1941; Mexico and Brazil in 1942; and Iraq in 1943—none of us were willing recruits to the world-encompassing tragedy of war.

But we are in the war now, all of us, for life or death. Out of the awful ordeal to which our enemies subject us, there comes a command from the common people of the world, a command which is being obeyed by the leaders of all free men. We demand that a war which was begun against us be finished by and for ourselves. We do not intend to fight this World War a third time. We demand that the grim cycle of oppression, demagoguery, and conquest be stopped forever. We demand freedom and security.

The war began as a war of defense. We have fought for the right to survive. We are doing the job which sharp necessity imposes. But beyond this elementary duty there is the obligation to win the war, not merely to stop it. Our war of defense has already become a world-wide offensive. Since there is no such thing as defensive victory, we shall have to accept the responsibility for offensive operations culminating in an effective victory.

What do we ask of victory? We ask the assurance that we shall not have to be parties to a repetition of this tragedy. We must annihilate the forces of militarism in Germany and Japan. We must not only punish the criminals of this war, but we must make sure that no other militarist fanatics will take their places. The old German and Japanese militarists must be overthrown along with the new. Ten years ago Adolf Hitler came to power in Germany, therewith furthering the attack on world peace begun by Japan two years earlier in Manchuria. This decade has taught us that militarism can no longer be considered a domestic or local matter, beyond the purview of international action. We shall not forget this lesson.

It is not enough that we defend ourselves, that we win the war, that we extirpate militarism. Our leaders in the United Nations look

forward to enduring, world-wide peace. Militarism can be eradicated only if the fundamental causes of war are wiped out, whether these causes are economic, ideological, political, or spiritual. Peace must rest on the kind of freedom, justice, and security that will forestall all future aggressors.

Such freedom must be thoroughgoing. Fourfold, it is freedom of speech and of religion, freedom from want and from fear. This freedom is already the subject of solemn international understandings, in the Atlantic Charter, in the Declaration of the United Nations, and in the concept of reciprocal lend-lease.

Note that this is a new and comprehensive kind of freedom. It is economic as well as political. It is world-wide. We have seen the effect of the fall of Malaya and the Indies upon our transportation system and our household economy. We know that no nation can live to itself alone. The freedom which we all desire is the freedom of global prosperity; such prosperity is not to be attained by selfishly local or selfishly national economic policies.

We Americans can be proud that our government has followed an economic foreign policy intended to provide freedom from want. The trade-agreements program of the United States has worked realistically and well; it has made provision for fair international economic partnerships. Today the war supersedes all other considerations; but I think we should realize that our good international position today has been enhanced by the genuine cooperation that we offered our neighbors in recent years. Our companion nations in the Pan American Union and in the United Nations need no reassuring as to our non-aggressive designs. They have collaborated with us on equal terms, and today we share with them the weapons and materials of war.

When victory comes we shall find at least the cornerstone of our freedom from want already laid. The lend-lease agreements provide that repayment, both by us and to us, shall be done in such a way as to further world pros-

perity. We intend that it shall never again be said of any state, as Mirabeau said 150 years ago, "*La guerre est l'industrie nationale de la Prusse*"—war is the national industry of Prussia.

Freedom awaits our fashioning. The world in which we shall live cannot be the creation of statesmen alone. It must be formed by the good will, the good hearts, the good sense, and the good work of the people of all nations.

The world of freedom can be born only through the devoted efforts of free men. It is up to us, today, to show that freedom works—that freedom can sacrifice, endure, and fight far better than can regimentation and oppression. We must remember the words of John Milton: "Freedom who loves, must first be wise and good." We cannot escape the responsibilities. We must achieve liberty or we shall be given death.

ADDRESS BY THE FORMER AMERICAN AMBASSADOR TO JAPAN, FEBRUARY 5¹

[Released to the press February 5]

It has been a privilege to me to see the beautiful city of Cleveland. Even more than by the beauty of Cleveland's location and the prosperity of her citizens I have been impressed by the air of cheerful but serious strenuousness which evidences the war effort.

Let me compare Cleveland with two other great cities: Hamburg, which is a little larger; and Kobe, which is a little smaller. Like Cleveland, which overlooks beautiful Lake Erie, Hamburg and Kobe are water-edge cities. Hamburg is a port on the bleak North Sea, while Kobe is built along the coast of the spectacularly beautiful Inland Sea of Japan. All three cities are modern and industrial. All three are now geared to war. All three are well paved, well illuminated, and well built.

Here the resemblance ends. One of those cities, Cleveland, is safe. Hamburg shudders at the thought of the RAF, and her burghers cannot escape the smell of fire and the sight of ruin; while the people of Kobe, if they could look into the future, must realize that the eventual destruction of their sea bastions and war production plants is as certain as the law of gravity. Two of those cities are now slave

cities in which all hope of freedom is set aside; the people of Hamburg and the people of Kobe must face the melancholy choice between individual freedom and national defeat. It has been many years since I have been in Hamburg and a matter of months since I was in Kobe, but I cannot help recalling them together. Before them, too, the water glitters to a blue horizon. Within them, too, the industry and intelligence of mankind has reared a secure fortress against the onslaughts of nature. They too were fed in peacetime by commerce and kept busy by industry. Today they have become citadels of violence and aggression and of virtual enslavement by their military masters; while your city, your Cleveland, remains a stronghold of freedom.

The Germans and Japanese are both modern peoples, as are we. Yet they have been seduced by their own governments into cruel, reactionary beliefs concerning their own superiority and their racial right to rule the rest of the world. In common with one another, they have a deep fear and hatred of us, because they know that a world in which a powerful America exists can never be a world of slavery and oppression. The leaders of the aggressor states have made it a part of their basic strategy to fight America last. They have hoped that—even in wartime—the American people would

¹Delivered by the Honorable Joseph C. Grew under the auspices of the Cleveland Foreign Affairs Council in Cleveland, Feb. 5, 1943.

not be sufficiently aroused to the dangers which beset this Republic. At the worst, they count on making a peace which might cheat America of the just fruits of a victory of justice.

The momentous events of the past month are evidence that America will enjoy that victory. Our people and our leaders have shown alertness and courage. We are not to be cheated by a false peace. We are not to be lulled into partial or inadequate efforts. We are giving and are to give flaming evidence of our will to fight and of our will to carry this war to the uttermost ends of the earth, to find our enemies and destroy them. But the war is more than battles—more, even, than the weapons which are built in busy cities, such as yours. It is a conflict of ways of life. The victory which we seek must come from our own efforts in more ways than one: it must come, not merely by the heroism of the fighting men on the far-flung fronts but by the concerted and loyal exertion of the whole people.

It is up to you today in Cleveland to be better, live better, work better than your enemies in Kobe and Hamburg. You must show that you free men can do, by good will and volunteer effort, what unfree men achieve only through militarism and regimentation. You must show that if it is you or they who must win, you will win; if war plants are to burn, let it be those of Hamburg re-kindled or those of Kobe set ablaze, and not those of Cleveland which shall shudder beneath the drone of hostile bombers, not those of Cleveland which shall await merciless planes striking in from across water.

Note and remember this: the German plants have been bombed and burned, but except for the heroic raid of Doolittle and his men the Japanese cities have remained as calm and undisturbed as have Cleveland and the rest of our mainland towns. Germany has been hit and hit again; but Japan, like America, has suffered mere scratches. In the long run, Cleveland or Kobe will behold fire and death. You are far away from war today, but so is Kobe. You are no further from the menace of Japan than the Japanese are from the menace of you. This is an all-out war. Stalemate could only mean the

doom of civilization. Short of stalemate there is no other choice: it is their city or yours.

Either the men and the weapons of Cleveland will go to Germany and to Japan, beating those militarist nations into unconditional surrender, or the Germans and Japanese will fight their way here—literally here—and will subject us to the oppression which the Poles, the Norwegians, the Greeks, the Chinese, and Filipinos, and a score of other peoples have tasted in all its vileness.

Let me tell you about two things: the nature of the enemy, and the dangers of a false, treacherous peace. In speaking of the enemy, I shall describe the Japanese. I knew the Germans in the first World War and the Japanese in the present war. Both have been infected by the virus of militarism which has begun to rage again until the world is sick with it. Both the German and the Japanese Governments took advantage of our humanity, our love of peace, to betray and conquer their neighbors and to prepare for war against us. Both are equally dangerous. I happen to have come from Tokyo most recently, and will for that reason tell you about Japan. You must remember, however, that what I say of Japan applies most of the time to the Germans as well.

Let me tell you, therefore, about the part of this war which I know best: the Japanese war against America. I have watched it brew for years, and feel that I have taken the measure of our Japanese enemies. I do not for a moment presume to touch upon questions of high policy and strategy in the fighting of this war nor upon the relative emphasis to be placed on the various theaters of war. Our highest leaders are taking care of that. I speak merely of the Japanese war machine as I have known it and have seen it grow, in power and determination and overweening ambition, during the past 10 years of my mission to Japan.

Let me paint for you the picture as I see it, for you Clevelanders might in other wars have had the right to feel protected by the massive continent which shields you on all sides. In this age of air power, no mere geography will shield you; and if American planes can hit the

enemy in the Solomon Islands, in Africa, and in innermost China, the enemy must be awaited everywhere and anywhere. I shall not overstate the case nor overdraw the picture. Let us look at that picture as it faces us today.

Even before Pearl Harbor, Japan was strong and possessed a military machine of great power—and when I speak of that military machine I include all branches of the Japanese armed forces: the Army, the Navy, and the air force. That military machine had been steadily strengthened and developed during many years, especially since Japan's invasion of Manchuria in 1931, an act of unprovoked aggression which, in effect, commenced the expansionist movement of Japan in total disregard of the rights and legitimate interests of any nation or of any people that might stand in the way of that movement.

In 1937 came Japan's invasion of north China and Shanghai, which led to the past six years of Sino-Japanese warfare. During all these years of their unavailing effort to conquer China and to bring about the surrender of the Chinese National Government, those Japanese armed forces were using China as a training-ground in preparation for the greater war, already carefully planned, for their eventual conquest and intended permanent control of all of so-called "Greater East Asia including the South Seas" and for the imposition upon the peoples of those far-flung areas of what Japan is pleased to refer to as the "New Order" and the "Co-Prosperity Sphere".

We know what that euphemistic slogan "Co-Prosperity" means: it denotes absolute hegemony—economic, financial, political—for Japan's own purely selfish interests and the virtual enslavement of the peoples of those territories to do the bidding of their Japanese masters. This statement is not a figment of the imagination; it is based on practical knowledge of what happened in other regions already subjected to Japan's domination. Such a regime will be imposed in every area that may fall under Japan's domination.

During all this period of preparation the Japanese military machine has been steadily

expanded and strengthened and trained to a knife-edge of war efficiency—in landing on beaches, in jungle fighting, and in all the many different forms of warfare which it was later to encounter.

Add to that intensive training the native courage of the Japanese soldiers and sailors and airmen, their determined obedience to orders even in the face of certain death, and their fanatical joy in dying for their Emperor on the field of battle, thus acquiring merit with their revered ancestors in the life to come, and you get a grim conception of the formidable character of that Japanese fighting machine. Furthermore, in war Japan is wholly totalitarian; her economy is planned and carried out to the last detail. No word of criticism of the Government or its acts is tolerated; the so-called "thought control" police take care of that. Labor unions are powerless. In war Japan is a unit, thinks and acts as a unit, labors and fights as a unit.

With that background, and having in mind the strength and power of Japan even before Pearl Harbor, consider for a moment the scene as it has developed in the Far East. Consider the tremendous holdings of Japan today—Korea, Manchuria, great areas in China proper, Formosa, the Spratly Islands, Indochina, Thailand, Burma and the Andamans, the entire Malay Peninsula, Hongkong and Singapore, the Philippines, the Netherlands East Indies and, farther to the south and to the east, myriads of islands many of which are unsinkable aircraft carriers.

Those areas contain all—mind you, all—the raw materials essential to the development of national power: rubber, oil, tin, metals, and foodstuffs—everything that the most comprehensive economy can desire; and they contain furthermore millions of native inhabitants who, experience has proved beyond peradventure, will be enslaved as skilled and unskilled labor by Japan to process those raw materials for immediate and future use. There you have a recipe and the ingredients for national strength and power that defeat the imagination even approximately to assess.

Now to this recipe and these ingredients add one further element of grimly ominous purport. During all my 10 years in Japan I have read the books, the speeches, the newspaper and magazine articles of highly placed Japanese, of generals and admirals, of statesmen and diplomats and politicians. Sometimes thinly veiled, sometimes not even veiled, has emerged their overweening ambition eventually to invade and to conquer these United States. In their thinking, even the megalomania of Hitler is surpassed. Fantastic if you will, but to them it is not fantastic. It was not fantastic when the foremost Japanese admiral, as recently occurred, publicly stated in all seriousness that he intends that the peace after this war will be dictated in the White House in Washington—by Japan.

It might be 1 year or 2 years or 5 or 10 years before that Japanese military machine would find itself ready to undertake an all-out attack on this Western Hemisphere of ours; they themselves have spoken of a hundred-year war; but one fact is as certain as the law of gravity: if we should allow the Japanese to dig in permanently in the far-flung areas now occupied, if we should allow them to consolidate and to crystallize their ill-gotten gains, if we should allow them time to fortify those gains to the nth degree, as they assuredly will attempt to do, it would be only a question of time before they attempted the conquest of American territory nearer home. In no respect do I overstate this case. My judgment is based on no wild surmise nor upon any far-fetched and imaginative hypothesis. It is based on facts, which are there for all to see, and upon 10 long years of intimate experience and observation.

What worries me in the attitude of our fellow countrymen is first the utterly fallacious pre-war thinking which still widely persists, to the effect that the Japanese, a race of little men, good copyists but poor inventors, are incapable of developing such power as could ever seriously threaten our home shores, our cities, and our homes, a habit of mind which is reinforced by the great distances separating our homeland from the far eastern and southern Pacific battle-fronts today.

I am also worried by the reaction of our people to the current successes of our heroic fighting men in the Solomons and New Guinea, for after each hard-won victory the spirits of our people soar. Moral stimulation is good; but moral complacency is the most dangerous habit of mind we can develop, and that danger is serious and ever-present. I have watched the intentional sinking of the *Panay*, the attempts on the *Tutuila* and on our Embassy in Chungking, and other efforts on the part of those military extremists to bring on war with the United States for the very purpose of leading up to the eventual carrying out of their fell designs; and I say to you, without hesitation or reserve, that our own country, our cities, our homes, are in dire peril from the overweening ambition and the potential power of that Japanese military machine—a power that renders Japan potentially the strongest nation in the world—potentially stronger than Great Britain or Germany or Russia or the United States—and that only when that military caste and its machine have been wholly crushed and destroyed on the field of battle, by land and air and sea, and discredited in the eyes of its own people, and rendered impotent either to fight further or further to reproduce itself in the future, shall we in our own land be free from that hideous danger and be able once again to turn to paths of peace.

You see that I promise no end to war through the simple formula of defeating the enemy today. Totalitarian aggression must be smashed first, and then its stump must be uprooted and burned. It is not enough to win now only, in the course of war; we must win the peace as well. To win the peace, we must be sure that it is our kind of peace and not a peace which compromises with German or with Japanese militarism.

It is with regret, not unmixed with humility, that I repeat to you today words which I addressed to a similar audience in January 1918—24 years ago last month. I said then, after describing the enemy Germany, from which I had recently returned: "That is the Germany of today with which we are at war and which we have got to defeat; otherwise, as surely

as the immutable laws of nature control the movement of this earth, our future generations will have to take up what we now leave off, facing the same problem which now confronts us, perhaps unaided. If we do not want to leave this heritage to our unborn sons, if this country is not to remain an armed camp permanently, Germany, as she is now organized, controlled, and governed, must be defeated." Those words are even more true today, and they are true as well of that other Germany in the Pacific, the Japanese Empire. We failed then to rid the world of the militarism which is our enemy; we must not fail again.

We must not tolerate Japanese or German militarism under new names and new flags. We must not drive the forces of imperialism, totalitarianism, and aggression underground. We must annihilate these evil forces and show that the age of imperialism is ended. We cannot afford to treat with those enemies whose ruin we have pledged. We cannot afford—should they ask it—to make peace with the fanaticism which we have sworn to exterminate. We must watch vigilantly for the dangerous signs of a German or Japanese peace offensive, designed to let us win the war but to lose the peace. Let me tell you about such a move, as it could come from Japan; the same general tactics would hold true of German militarism.

In my various talks around the country I have repeatedly stressed the view that the Japanese will not crack. What I mean is exemplified in the tenacity with which their armed forces have been holding out in New Guinea and in Guadalcanal. That is to say, the Japanese military code does not admit of surrender, even when it is the only alternative to annihilation, but this does not mean that the Japanese will stand up to be shot down to the last man when some other alternative presents itself, such as running away to fight another day. Despite their sentimentality and fanaticism the Japanese are fundamentally a practical people. When they find that they cannot win on the field of battle, that they are bound to be beaten there, and that they therefore are in danger of losing all their so-called "co-prosperity sphere", rather than

accept a conclusive defeat, rather than take loss of all their gains, it is altogether likely that they will look about for ways of effecting a compromise whereby they might avoid the disgrace of defeat and might hope to retain a part of their gains.

At the present time, of course, the Japanese leaders, and even more so the people, are far from convinced that they cannot manage to retain substantially all of their gains. But when the allied offensive gains momentum and Japanese self-confidence is shaken by successive reverses and loss of territory, then we may look for a development of new tactics. The Japanese art of self-defense, jujitsu, gives us a clue as to what these tactics are likely to be. The essence of this art is that by letting the adversary take the initiative and by giving way and simulating defeat the adversary may be lulled into dropping his guard; then when the adversary has advanced too far and is off balance, he is destroyed by a quick recovery and a lightning attack where he is weakest.

I have no fear that our military authorities are likely to be taken in by any military application of the jujitsu principles. I do feel, however, that the American people and the people of nations united with them in war on Japan should be forewarned against the possibility of a jujitsu feint in the realm of diplomacy—namely, a peace offensive. The Japanese are capable of preparing the ground for such an offensive with elaborate care. That is to say, the military leaders might begin by bringing forth from retirement some former statesman with a liberal label and placing him at the head of a puppet civilian cabinet. This step would be heralded as representing the overthrow of military dictatorship in favor of liberalism. The scene would then be set for a peace move. There might be an announcement by the new premier intimating that Japan was ready to conclude a peace on a fair and just basis. If the United Nations were willing to rise to the bait before awaiting at least the clearing of the Japanese armed forces from the territories that they have seized, so much the better for Japan; but even if the United Nations should insist on

such withdrawal as a prerequisite to a peace parley, such a Japanese move would still seem to its authors worthwhile if it should have chance of deceiving some of the peoples among the United Nations and rendering them lukewarm toward the further prosecution of the war. The Japanese might well calculate that by the time they were ready to launch such a peace offensive their peace-loving enemies would be so weary of the war that they would be receptive to peace offers; that once an armistice had been declared and negotiations been begun it would be difficult to get their enemies to resume fighting again even if the Japanese were to hold out for partial retention of their gains.

It is believed that the American people in being forewarned against deceptive Japanese peace moves should be made to realize that the only safe course for the United Nations to take in the presence of such moves will be to keep in mind the President's words to Congress on December 8, 1941 that "We will not only defend ourselves to the uttermost but will make very certain that this form of treachery shall never endanger us again," and that we continue to press our operations against Japan until she has no alternative to admitting defeat and submitting to disarmament. If the United Nations were to begin discussing peace with Japan or Germany while she is still armed, the only peace to which such a procedure could lead would be an armed truce to be followed by even more bitter warfare.

The President and the Prime Minister made it plain at Casablanca that they were not to be deceived by such tactics. "Unconditional surrender" is the complete summary of the terms which we of the United Nations shall and must offer the aggressor powers. To do less would be to temporize with murder and to negotiate with treachery embodied in human flesh. We have everything to lose and nothing to gain in a peace which fails to assure freedom throughout the world on the terms which an aroused and civilized mankind demands. To barter or bargain with the substance of freedom would be to deny the cause for which our men are dying.

I have shown you what happens under the militarism which has corrupted Germany and Japan and which now threatens the world. I have described for you how the Axis wages war and why the Axis wages war. Truly may it be said: "Their object is crime and their method, death." And I have sought to warn you against the insidious menace of a shameful "peace", an armistice which would allow militarism to flower again in the next generation, when a new crop of infantrymen—sons of oppressed, ignorant mothers—would be ready for the harvest of war.

We are faced with an immense task. This war is the greatest war ever fought. The United Nations are the greatest coalition of free peoples ever formed; our ranks in this war are immeasurably strengthened by the active aid and partnership of the three largest countries of the world—China, Britain, and Russia. We shall control all the seas and the air of the world. We shall be able to do this only by virtue of putting forth our maximum efforts here in America. We can and we must mold the world of the future. But to do this we must discipline ourselves in self-denial, we must exert ourselves to the full extent of our several capacities. We must work and save and unite; we must day in and day out cultivate patience, determination, endurance, and courage.

The war is here, confronting me and confronting you. It is in the air about us. The war is not something far away on the other side of the world. The war against us consists of immense physical forces in the hands of men who are brave, furious, implacable enemies. This violence and power is being kept out of your homes, here in Cleveland, only by the sacrificial efforts of our allies and of our American men overseas. Let these relax, and the Germans and Japanese will be here.

Here in Cleveland you are performing miracles of production to support the war—to support the living wall of human flesh which has stopped the enemy. That wall of men has begun moving on the offensive, but you will not be secure until it has crushed the Germans and Japanese in their own homes. If Cleveland is

to be safe, Hamburg and Kobe must be put out of action as arsenals. Until we have won, you can be sure of no future for your children, you cannot think of rest for your own old age, you cannot even look serenely to the future of your country. Today there is no goal short of victory; there can be no pause until we have at-

tained complete and total victory. Each of you is necessary in this task: every single one of you is infinitely precious to the nation which has borne and reared you and which now calls on you for indispensable help. You, I know, dedicate and rededicate yourselves to the performance of the tasks that lie ahead.

ADDRESS BY HERBERT H. LEHMAN¹

[Released to the press February 1]

I am deeply grateful for the honor conferred upon me tonight by the representatives of labor of the city and the State of New York. I am glad indeed to see that all labor organizations—the American Federation of Labor and the CIO—are united here in this purpose. The unity of labor here is a symbol of the united action which the representatives of the working men and women of the city and State of New York are achieving at this time of great crisis for democracy.

I want to express my deep appreciation for the splendid cooperation I received throughout my terms as Governor from the leaders of organized labor in the State. The President of the State Federation of Labor and the President of the State CIO were valuable and devoted members of the State War Council during my service as Governor and recognized without qualification that the first job of labor is to win the war and win it completely. They have thoroughly appreciated the responsibility of labor and have done everything in their power to see that those responsibilities were willingly and effectively met in the work of marshaling every resource of this State and the entire Nation in a supreme effort to crush forever the evil powers of the Axis.

It is especially fitting that this dinner should be arranged by the Labor Division of the Or-

ganization for Rehabilitation Through Training. During the last 62 years ORT has been presenting to the world a practical demonstration of the effectiveness of the principle of helping other people to help themselves. I can testify to this because I have been connected with ORT for the last quarter of a century and I have a personal interest and considerable familiarity with the great work which this organization has done in the many countries of Europe. There are hundreds of thousands of people the world over who demonstrate the quality of this achievement—people who have become skilled industrial and agricultural workers and have been trained in skills to enable them to help themselves through the assistance of ORT.

The darkness into which the brutal forces of aggression have plunged the world has temporarily obscured the outlines of the work of ORT in Europe. But now, as the liberating forces of the United Nations gather to deal the Axis a finishing blow, we can look toward the dawn of a new day in which the ORT's principle of helping others to help themselves will be revitalized by all America and extended on a broader, even a world-wide, scale.

Perhaps the paramount lesson that America has learned from this war is that the defense of our land begins thousands of miles from our own shores. It begins on the beaches and on the muddy airdromes of North Africa, where Lt. Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower is bringing a mighty expeditionary force of American fighting men to grips with the military machine of Germany and Italy. It begins in the moun-

¹ Delivered at a testimonial dinner arranged through the Labor Division of the Organization for Rehabilitation Through Training, New York, N. Y., Jan. 31, 1943. Mr. Lehman is Director of the Office of Foreign Relief and Rehabilitation Operations, Department of State.

tains and along the shores of New Guinea, where United Nations' forces under General Douglas MacArthur are driving the Japanese into the sea. It begins in steaming jungles of Guadalcanal, where our Marines and our Army are driving the Japanese toward the point of annihilation.

This lesson has driven home to Americans that there no longer is any place in our life for the doctrine of those who would have our Navy hug our coasts while the Army dispersed itself in small units to wait for the enemy to come to our shores. Instead, we have chosen and chosen rightly to make our fight wherever democracy is threatened and wherever we can come to grips with the ruthless enemy who would enslave the world under a system of godless and brutal tyranny.

To crush and crush completely the forces of our enemy we must bring to bear against them every resource and the full productive capacity of the United Nations. And in connection with this single world strategy another great task has been added. President Roosevelt has stated this task: to supply medicines, food, clothing, and the other dire needs of those peoples of other lands who have been plundered, despoiled, and starved as their countries were overrun by the hordes of these new vandals of the twentieth century. The Nazis and Japanese have made a weapon of war out of a campaign of organized terror. They seek to impose their will upon the unoffending peoples of other lands by butchery, starvation, and pillage. In a campaign of matchless ruthlessness they have utterly stripped the lands they have overrun of food, of raw materials, and of all the necessities which they could possibly utilize to feed the maw of their own war machines. They have used and will continue to use hunger as a club to complete the enslavement of the people they have already subjugated.

The policy of America and the policy of the United Nations is the direct opposite. Under the great human principle of helping others to help themselves America must use food, clothing, shelter, and the necessities of life as a real weapon to win complete and overwhelming vic-

tory and to secure the peace which must follow. President Roosevelt has proclaimed that the liberating armies of the United Nations will bring with them food for the starving and medicine for the sick. He has stated that every aid possible will be given to restore each of the liberated countries to soundness and to strength so that each may make its full contribution to a United Nations victory and to the stable and enduring peace for which all of us are striving. It now is our work to make real and actual these promises which extend to millions of suffering victims of the Axis their one ray of hope.

This great work, with which I am entrusted as the Director of the Office of Foreign Relief and Rehabilitation Operations, is but an extension and a tremendous elaboration of the work which you good people already have pioneered through the ORT. Because you have already, over the 62 years of your efforts, given practical demonstration of the effectiveness and practical value of helping people to help themselves, I feel I am speaking tonight to a group which can clearly comprehend not only the humanities of this new assignment but also its imperative necessity as a weapon for victory and an essential for enduring peace.

There is no one here who will quarrel with the moral necessity for feeding the starving, clothing the naked, and for giving human beings a new chance to survive in a world which has come dangerously close to complete chaos. There is no disputing America's generous historic sympathy for the common man and woman who have been deprived not only of personal liberty but of the necessities of life itself.

But over and above this moral consideration which will always be uppermost in our minds and in our hearts is the real and undeniable military necessity for positive and well-planned measures of relief and rehabilitation to be launched in the liberated territories as our armies drive the Axis forces back toward Berlin and Tokyo and Rome. Our intelligence services have reported that when new areas have been freed from the Axis yoke we will find conditions close to chaos. We will find the economic life of the once-occupied countries de-

stroyed. There will be no foodstuffs. There will be no goods from which to fabricate clothing. There will be no medical facilities to prevent the spread of pestilence and epidemic from the concentration camps and the ghettos, where the Nazi leaders have willfully and deliberately allowed disease to run rampant as a means of exterminating whole races and nationalities. There will be no raw materials with which to manufacture new goods for commerce. These countries, these men and women who comprise the populations of these countries, are going to be prostrated unless we, as members of the family of United Nations, take immediate measures to help them to help themselves. Shattered economies, pestilence, starvation, and death breed riot and anarchy. Because they recognize this axiom, the military experts who are laying the plans and devising strategy by which the finishing blows will be dealt to the world-domination dreams of Adolf Hitler and the Japanese warlords will attest to the military necessity of relief work in these areas. It is vitally important, if we are to win this war, that we be ready with plans, with materials and resources and with personnel to follow up military operations with emergency food, emergency shelter, emergency clothing, and emergency medical facilities to give assistance to the men and women who have kept burning the hatred of the Axis and the will to survive and be free.

It should be self-evident that our troops, whether in North Africa or any place elsewhere in future theaters of operation, will not be able to take the offensive successfully if they must launch their operations in countries where famine and pestilence are generating riot, revolution, and complete disorder. As a matter of self-preservation and to further our military cause we can not allow the plight of these people to go unheeded.

The advance of communications and transportation has made the world an exceedingly small place for the humans who dwell in it. And, as the President has aptly pointed out, when your neighbor's house is on fire, it is simply a matter of prudence to lend him a fire hose

with which to extinguish the fire lest it spread to your own house. In this new world, rendered small and compact by the modern miracles of transportation and communication, there are few to be found who still will argue that America can continue unheedingly on its own way, oblivious that the other half of mankind is beset by famine, pestilence, and anarchy.

But beyond the military necessities there is an additional consideration: the uncontestable fact that development of measures of relief and rehabilitation will go far toward shortening the war and a very long way in helping to create the kind of stable, equitable, and enduring peace which all America must seek and strive for. Do you think that the peoples of the earth who are now sacrificing and laboring and dying so that this new and better world may come into being—do you think that they will compromise for anything less? We must extend to these people the full assurances of America and its allies that along with our liberating armies will come the quick assistance of a working, an effective democracy—that supplies of food, clothing, shelter, and medicines and the basic measures of rehabilitation are ready to give the common man and woman a new chance for life.

Because of the relatively short time in which we have been working to organize these measures, we as yet are only blazing the trails into this immense problem. But it already seems clear that the first measures will be strictly those of an emergency measure to stop starvation, to prevent deaths by exposure, to head off the terrifying threat of epidemic and pestilence. Behind those measures must come provision of seeds to get a new crop into the ground, because experience has shown that once crops have been planted and harvested in liberated countries the peak of relief operations has been passed and the populations once more can begin to help themselves. With the real threat of starvation eliminated, with people once again provided with the bare necessities of shelter and clothing, with commerce undergoing a new birth as the first crops come in, the men and women who have endured so much under the slave system of the Nazis and their Axis accomplices will be

able to draw their own plans for reconstruction of much of what the aggressors have destroyed and reconstitution of their institutions and their lives.

This is a tremendous work. This is a work which of its very nature must challenge the abilities and the resources of all Americans and all men of good-will everywhere. But it is a work which must be done if the way of life and the institutions which we hold so dear are to be preserved, if we are to win this war, if we are to build a peace in which justice and equity will prevail.

The darkness in which so much of the world has been engulfed by the selfish ambitions of the aggressors can not go on forever. Sometime throughout the world the lights will come on again. Out of the damage and destruction of human life that has accompanied this war—as out of all conditions that depress and degrade men—will come a new and great concept of the meaning of life and the role of nations. From the subjugation of the peoples who have been oppressed, starved, and tortured will come a relentless wave of a new human spirit that will not be held back. The sacrifices which we are making today and which we will have to make before victory is gained are creating and sharpening the great human hunger for liberty and a decent way of life. Out of deaths on the battlefield and the sacrifices at home is being created a new and better world.

Victory over the self-styled Nazi supermen and the Japanese warlords in itself will not be enough. Along with that victory the tidal wave of democracy must wash away the wreckage and the barriers of an inadequate world, a world too small for the universal concept of democratic life and the liberated human spirit. This tidal wave of democracy must sweep away the debris of a world half democratic and half slave to make way for a new life in which the basic freedoms of man can find their true expression. This is the work to which we are addressing ourselves. This is the work which, with God's help, must be done.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE BULLETIN

MESSAGE OF ASSISTANT SECRETARY BERLE TO THE AMERICAN HUNGARIAN FEDERATION¹

[Released to the press February 1]

I greatly regret that pressure of work prevents my being with you Sunday night. My regret is increased because Americans of Hungarian ancestry have, with few exceptions, loyally supported the United States and its war effort, and many thousands of them are in the American armed forces and are working in the arsenals of democracy. I am sure they recognize, as we all do, and as the American Hungarian Federation has repeatedly declared, that our common foe is the existence of Nazi tyranny, which is today plundering Hungary and sending Hungarians by thousands to die on the Russian plains. Only a victory which wipes out the Nazi philosophy and way of life can make it possible for Hungary to continue in existence.

You are American citizens and part of the great composite stream of American life. You know that national unity is essential if America is to put forth her greatest effort. Foreign politicians may seek to distract you from the achievement of this unity. To these your best answer is that you are Americans and that you do not choose to be led back into the intrigues, the hatreds, and the petty quarrels of the old Europe. Your voice will be heard through your free participation in the American Government, and you need no instructions from abroad as to where your loyalties lie.

No one who seeks to sow division among Americans of foreign ancestry can be counted as our friend. The Atlantic Charter has stated as an objective a world in which nations large and small may have freedom from fear. With the victory of the United Nations lies the hope of all peoples.

I give you all greeting in the common effort for victory.

¹ Meeting held in Bridgeport, Conn., Jan. 31, 1943.

CAPTURE OF PRIZES ON THE HIGH SEAS

On January 30, 1943 the President issued the following proclamation (no. 2575) regarding the capture of prizes.

"WHEREAS the act of August 18, 1942, Public Law 704, 77th Congress, contains in part the following provisions:

"*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the district courts shall have original jurisdiction of all prizes captured during the present war on the high seas if said capture was made by authority of the United States or was adopted and ratified by the President of the United States and the prize was brought into the territorial waters of a cobelligerent or was taken or appropriated for the use of the United States on the high seas or in such territorial waters, including jurisdiction of all proceedings for the condemnation of such property taken as prize.*

"SEC. 3. The jurisdiction of prizes brought into the territorial waters of a cobelligerent shall not be exercised under authority of this Act, nor shall prizes be taken or appropriated within such territorial waters for the use of the United States, unless the government having jurisdiction over such territorial waters consents to the exercise of such jurisdiction or to such taking or appropriation.

"SEC. 7. A cobelligerent of the United States which consents to the exercise of the jurisdiction herein conferred with respect to prizes of the United States brought into its territorial waters and to the taking or appropriation of such prizes within its territorial waters for the use of the United States shall be accorded, upon proclamation by the President of the United States, like privileges with respect to prizes captured under authority of such cobelligerent and brought into the territorial waters of the United States or taken or appropriated in the territorial waters of the United States for the use of such cobelligerent. Reciprocal recognition and full faith and credit shall be given to the jurisdiction

acquired by courts of a cobelligerent hereunder and to all proceedings had or judgments rendered in exercise of such jurisdiction."

"WHEREAS the Government of the United Kingdom, a cobelligerent, has consented to the exercise of the jurisdiction conferred by the said act with respect to prizes of the United States brought into the territorial waters of the United Kingdom and Sierra Leone and to the taking or appropriation of such prizes within the territorial waters of the United Kingdom and Sierra Leone for the use of the United States:

"NOW, THEREFORE, I, FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, President of the United States of America, acting under and by virtue of the authority vested in me by the said act of August 18, 1942, do proclaim that the Government of the United Kingdom shall be accorded like privileges with respect to prizes captured under authority of the said Government and brought into the territorial waters of the United States or taken or appropriated in the territorial waters of the United States for the use of the said Government.

"IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States of America to be affixed.

"Done at the City of Washington this 30th day of January in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and forty-three and of the Independence of the United States of America the one hundred and sixty-seventh."

MESSAGE FROM THE BRITISH FOREIGN SECRETARY REGARDING THE PUBLICATION "PEACE AND WAR"

[Released to the press January 31]

Secretary Hull has received from Mr. Anthony Eden, British Secretary for Foreign Affairs, a message containing the following statement with respect to the Department's publication, *Peace and War*:¹

"I have just finished reading your Department's White Paper 'Peace and War'. May I

¹ Department of State publication 1853.

congratulate you warmly on what I regard as a most impressive and important document which should have an immense educative value. It seems to me to present a complete and convincing statement of United States policy and I hope and believe that among other lessons it will bring home to all who read it the vital need of cooperation between peace-loving nations and the folly and danger of selfish nationalist policies. I feel that it deserves the widest possible publicity."

The Department of State is informed that *Peace and War* is being published officially in Great Britain; that it is being published officially or privately in several other countries in their own languages. Many thousands of copies in Spanish translation have been requested for distribution in the American republics.

In order to meet widespread requests in the United States for *Peace and War*, arrangements are being made for its distribution by newsstands and bookstores throughout the country.

The Far East

CHINESE CELEBRATION IN HONOR OF THE SIGNATURE OF THE EXTRATERRITORIALITY TREATIES

[Released to the press February 5]

The Secretary of State, on February 5, made the following statement:

"There is being held in China a three-day celebration beginning today in honor of the recent signing of the American-Chinese and the British-Chinese treaties for the relinquishment of American and British extraterritorial and other special rights in China. I am sure that this celebration will be noted by the people of the United States with the utmost of good wishes for the people of China. We all share

China's gratification, not only because of our deep-rooted feeling of friendship for China and the Chinese but also because the step that the United States and Great Britain have taken with China has far-reaching significance as a concrete exemplification of the high principles for which the United Nations are fighting in the common struggle to destroy the forces of aggression and to build toward a better world."

American Republics

DEATH OF THE SON OF THE PRESIDENT OF BRAZIL

[Released to the press February 3]

The text of a message from the President of the United States to the President of Brazil follows:

FEBRUARY 2, 1943.

The sad news has just reached me that your son, Getulio, died today.

In this hour of tragedy I wish I could be with you to tell you of my deep feeling of sympathy. When I learned from you that he had been stricken, I shared your hope that he would be spared for that career of useful service to his country for which he was preparing himself.

Mrs. Roosevelt joins me in this expression of our most profound grief at this time.

Your sincere friend,

FRANKLIN D ROOSEVELT

UNITED STATES MISSION OF LABOR EXPERTS TO BOLIVIA

[Released to the press February 2]

Mr. Martin J. Kyne, Vice President of the United Retail, Wholesale, and Department Store Employees of America, has been appointed an additional member of the Mission of Labor Experts being sent to Bolivia by the Government of the United States in accordance with an in

invitation of the Bolivian Government. The organization of which Mr. Kyne is an officer is affiliated with the Congress of Industrial Organizations. It is expected that Mr. Kyne will depart from Miami for Bolivia about February

6 and join the other members of the Mission who are already en route.

The scope and membership of the Mission were described in the *BULLETIN* of January 30, 1943, p. 107.

Commercial Policy

THE UNITED NATIONS AND THE TRADE-AGREEMENTS PROGRAM

Address by Charles Bunn¹

[Released to the press January 31]

Your chairman has asked me to discuss the connection between the American trade-agreements program and the economic hopes and principles of the United Nations. That connection is clear and specific and is expressed in the fundamental documents.

The United Nations came into existence with the promulgation of the Declaration by United Nations, January 1, 1942. By that Declaration the signatory governments, "Having subscribed to a common program of purposes and principles embodied in the Joint Declaration of the President of the United States of America and the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland dated August 14, 1941, known as the Atlantic Charter" made certain declarations concerning the conduct of the war.

The Atlantic Charter, so adopted by the United Nations as their own, contains the following economic clauses:

"Fourth, they will endeavor, with due respect for their existing obligations, to further the enjoyment by all States, great or small, victor or vanquished, of access, on equal terms, to the trade and to the raw materials of the world which are needed for their economic prosperity;

"Fifth, they desire to bring about the fullest collaboration between all nations in the economic field with the object of securing, for all, improved labor standards, economic advancement and social security;

"Sixth, after the final destruction of the Nazi tyranny, they hope to see established a peace which will afford to all nations the means of dwelling in safety within their own boundaries, and which will afford assurance that all the men in all the lands may live out their lives in freedom from fear and want;

"Seventh, such a peace should enable all men to traverse the high seas and oceans without hindrance;"

In other documents a growing number of the United Nations have been even more specific. I refer of course to the master agreements concerning the principles of mutual lend-lease, which have been signed between the United States and—in the order of signature—the United Kingdom, China, the Soviet Union, Belgium, Poland, the Netherlands, Greece, Czechoslovakia, Norway, and Yugoslavia. These agreements are substantially identical. Their principles have been accepted by the separate and independent action of New Zealand and Australia as applicable to their lend-lease relations with this country. The part which I shall read has also been accepted, quite outside lend-lease, by our great northern neighbor, Canada. I shall read from the agreement with Great Britain because that is the one "the provisions

¹ Delivered before the Political Science Association, Washington, D.C., Jan. 31, 1943. Mr. Bunn is Special Assistant to the Under Secretary of State and consultant to the Division of Commercial Policy and Agreements, Department of State.

and principles of which" were made applicable to our lend-lease relations with the Government represented by our guest of honor of today, the Honorable Walter Nash, the Minister of New Zealand, by a note of September 3, 1942, over his signature.

Article VII of the mutual-aid agreement between the United States and the United Kingdom is as follows:

"In the final determination of the benefits to be provided to the United States of America by the Government of the United Kingdom in return for aid furnished under the Act of Congress of March 11, 1941, the terms and conditions thereof shall be such as not to burden commerce between the two countries, but to promote mutually advantageous economic relations between them and the betterment of world-wide economic relations. To that end, they shall include provision for agreed action by the United States of America and the United Kingdom, open to participation by all other countries of like mind, directed to the expansion, by appropriate international and domestic measures, of production, employment, and the exchange and consumption of goods, which are the material foundations of the liberty and welfare of all peoples; to the elimination of all forms of discriminatory treatment in international commerce, and to the reduction of tariffs and other trade barriers; and, in general, to the attainment of all the economic objectives set forth in the Joint Declaration made on August 14, 1941, by the President of the United States of America and the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom.

"At an early convenient date, conversations shall be begun between the two Governments with a view to determining, in the light of governing economic conditions, the best means of attaining the above-stated objectives by their own agreed action and of seeking the agreed action of other like-minded Governments."

These are brave words, and they express high hopes. Whether they are merely words and hopes, or whether they in fact become

reality, depends on what we do from here on in. To make them real will need not only international negotiations and agreements but domestic legislation and administrative action in many countries and on many subjects, the continuous support of democratic peoples everywhere, and their continuous refusal to surrender to short-sighted and sectional self-interest. It will not be an easy task, nor yet a short one, but on the wisdom and success with which it is accomplished we must bet our children's lives and fortunes.

In this long and hard job the trade-agreements program takes its perhaps humble, but surely necessary, part. The program is based on the Trade Agreements Act of 1934. That act, as is well known, consists chiefly of an authority vested in the President to make agreements with foreign governments concerning tariffs, quotas, and the like, and to proclaim the changes in American tariff rates provided for in such agreements. The President's authority is hedged about with a careful body of restrictions, of which the most important are a requirement for public notice and hearings, a limitation of reductions to 50 percent of the rates that would otherwise prevail, and a requirement that reductions provided in agreements shall apply, on a most-favored-nation basis, to goods of the same sort from all friendly foreign countries. The act, with its renewals, and the experienced and expert organization operating under it furnish an existing and efficient tool, the only one this country has at present, for the long-standing effort of this Government to eliminate discriminations in international trade and to reduce unreasonable and burdensome trade barriers by international negotiation and agreement. Until some better tool is found and put in operation, this one is an essential part of the equipment for the total job ahead. That it can work, even in the midst of war, is shown again by the agreement with Mexico, signed last December and effective yesterday (summary in the *BULLETIN* of the Department of State, December 26, 1942, Supplement). And we can be quite sure that whatever is attempted in many other fields—to

expand production and employment, to stabilize exchange and currencies, to develop the world's resources, to improve the lot of working men and farmers, to control the machinations of cartels, to promote international investment—depends in the long run, for an important part of its success, on the facilities for interchanging goods.

Most of us in this room are not professional economists, and few of us are businessmen. But surely neither the professionals of economic theory nor the managers of business will object if we agree with them that markets are essential to the solvency of business enterprises. Markets often are abroad and are affected by the trade restrictions imposed by other countries on our goods and by the lack of buying power which may result from our own restrictions upon theirs. And, on the other side, surely this war has taught us—if we did not know it before—that the welfare of the American economy and the living-standard of us all depends on many products imported from abroad. What the submarine and the shipping stringency have done in war to our second cup of coffee and what the Japs have done to our supply of tires, could be done equally in peace by unreasonable trade restrictions, if we were so silly as to embark on that path. The trade-agreements program proposes simply that we continue to move, as we have since 1934, in the opposite direction. That is also not the whole proposal but an essential part of the proposal of the Atlantic Charter, the Declaration by United Nations, and the lend-lease agreements.

The President's authority under the last renewal of the act of 1934 will expire next June unless extended by the present Congress. I have no doubt that the Congress will find it proper to consider, sometime between now and June, whether to extend it or to let it lapse, and if it is to be extended, whether to amend in any respect or in either direction the existing limitations on the President's authority. The reaction of the Congress and the country to those questions will be an acid test of our position and intentions. It will let all other countries know whether they should plan their own

economies, so far as relations with this country are concerned, on the basis of increased freedom of exchange or of heightened barriers and autarchy. Those of us who view the partnership and principles of the United Nations as a great hope of the future will have no doubt where we stand in the debate.

Perhaps you will let me close with a personal reference. Twenty-six years ago this month I was invited to become for a period the secretary of Mr. Justice Holmes. The other war deprived me of that chance, but it did not deprive me of my admiration for his character and work. Before that, back in 1913, he spoke to a Harvard meeting in New York and said some things which are not without their present-day analogy. He is speaking about the Supreme Court of the United States:

"I do not think the United States would come to an end if we lost our power to declare an Act of Congress void. I do think the Union would be imperiled if we could not make that declaration as to the laws of the several States. For one in my place sees how often a local policy prevails with those who are not trained to national views and how often action is taken that embodies what the Commerce Clause was meant to end."

The world has grown smaller since Holmes spoke. "What the Commerce Clause was meant to end" between the States has become a burning question between nations. The men who try to solve that question and the peoples who give them power and support them must indeed be trained to more than local views.

Cultural Relations

DISTINGUISHED VISITORS FROM OTHER AMERICAN REPUBLICS

[Released to the press February 2]

Senhor Sergio Milliet, well-known Brazilian journalist and author, head of the editorial section of *O Estado de São Paulo*, a leading news-

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DISTINGUISHED VISITORS FROM OTHER AMERICAN REPUBLICS

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Senhor Sergio Milliet, well-known Brazilian journalist and author, head of the editorial section of *O Estado de São Paulo*, a leading news-

paper of São Paulo, and also a contributing editor of *A Manhã* of Rio de Janeiro, arrived in the United States on Monday, February 1, as a guest of the Department of State.

Senhor Milliet is also Chief of the Division of Historical and Social Documents of the Department of Culture of São Paulo and director of a project of the *Libraria Martins* of that city to publish old Brazilian books now out of print. His itinerary in the United States includes leading museums, libraries, publishing houses and newspapers, and certain factories.

The Department

DIVISION OF EXPORTS AND REQUIREMENTS

On February 1, 1943 the Secretary of State issued the following Departmental order (no. 1128):

"There is hereby created in the Department of State a Division of Exports and Requirements. It shall function as a component part of the Board of Economic Operations and under the supervision of Mr. Thomas K. Finletter, Special Assistant to the Secretary of State, and under the general direction of Assistant Secretary of State Acheson. This Division shall have responsibility for all matters of foreign policy involved in the administration of the Act of July 2, 1940, as amended (the Export Control Act), the Act of March 11, 1941 (the Lend-Lease Act), except the negotiation of master lend-lease agreements and the application of Article VII thereof under said Act, the Acts of June 28, 1940, and May 31, 1941 (in so far as priorities and/or allocations for export are concerned), provided that where such matters involve arrangements for pur-

chase of materials, preclusive or otherwise, in foreign countries, the policies to be followed shall be formulated in the Division of Defense Materials.

"The Division of Exports and Requirements shall have responsibility in matters under its control for dealing with the Department's correspondence and contacts with our representatives abroad and with representatives of foreign governments in this country. It shall collaborate with the geographical and other divisions, in particular the Division of Defense Materials, concerning the formulation and coordination of policy and establish and maintain liaison with other departments and agencies of the Government.

"Mr. Christian M. Ravndal is designated Chief, and Messrs. Olaf Ravndal, Albert M. Doyle, Charles F. Knox, Jr., Russell W. Benton, and William C. Trimble are designated Assistant Chiefs of the Division of Exports and Requirements, the symbol designation of which shall be ER.

"The American Hemisphere Exports Office is hereby abolished, and its personnel, equipment and facilities are hereby transferred to the Division of Exports and Requirements.

"The provisions of this Order shall be effective immediately and shall supersede and cancel the provisions of any existing Order in conflict therewith."

DIVISIONS UNDER SUPERVISION OF SPECIAL ASSISTANT TO THE SECRETARY, THOMAS K. FINLETTER

On February 1, 1943 the Secretary of State issued the following Departmental order (no. 1130):

"The Division of Exports and Requirements, the Foreign Funds Control Division, the Division of Defense Materials, and the Division of World Trade Intelligence shall henceforth operate under the supervision of Mr. Thomas K.

Finletter, Special Assistant to the Secretary, and under the general direction of Assistant Secretary Acheson. On matters involving general economic policy, Mr. Finletter and the several divisions referred to shall consult with the Office of the Adviser on International Economic Affairs.

"The symbol designation of Mr. Finletter's office shall be SA/F.

"The provisions of this Order shall be effective immediately and shall supersede and cancel the provisions of any existing Order in conflict therewith."

ASSOCIATE ADVISER ON INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC AFFAIRS

On February 1, 1943 the Secretary of State issued the following Departmental order (no. 1129):

"There is hereby created in the Office of the Adviser on International Economic Affairs the post of Associate Adviser on International Economic Affairs.

"Dr. Emilio G. Collado is hereby designated Associate Adviser on International Economic Affairs. Dr. Collado shall continue to perform his functions as Special Assistant to the Under Secretary and to serve as his alternate on the Inter-American Financial and Economic Advisory Committee.

"Mr. John S. Hooker and Mr. Jack C. Corbett are designated as Assistant Advisers on International Economic Affairs in the Office of the Adviser on International Economic Affairs.

"Mr. Simon G. Hanson is transferred to the Office of the Adviser on International Economic Affairs. He shall continue to act as Consultant to the Board of Economic Operations.

"The symbol designation of Dr. Collado shall be EA/C.

"The personnel, equipment and other facilities attached to Dr. Collado's office prior to this Order are hereby transferred to the Office

of the Adviser on International Economic Affairs.

"The provisions of this Order shall be effective immediately and shall supersede and cancel the provisions of any existing Order in conflict therewith."

THE BOARD OF ECONOMIC OPERATIONS

On February 1, 1943 the Secretary of State issued the following Departmental order (no. 1131):

"The first paragraph of Departmental Order 973 of October 7, 1941, is hereby amended to read as follows:

"There is hereby created in the Department of State a Board of Economic Operations, the members of which shall be Assistant Secretaries of State Acheson and Berle; the Adviser on International Economic Affairs, Dr. Herbert Feis; the Associate Adviser on International Economic Affairs, Dr. Emilio G. Collado; Special Assistant to the Secretary of State, Dr. Leo Pasvolsky; Special Assistant to the Secretary of State, Mr. Thomas K. Finletter; Special Assistant to the Under Secretary, Mr. Max Thornburg; and the Chiefs or, in their absence, the Acting Chiefs of the following divisions: Commercial Policy and Agreements, Defense Materials, Exports and Requirements, Financial, Foreign Funds Control, and World Trade Intelligence.

"The last three paragraphs of that Order are amended to read as follows:

"Mr. John S. Hooker, Assistant Adviser on International Economic Affairs, is hereby designated as Executive Secretary of the Board. He shall prepare agenda for the meetings of the Board and shall maintain minutes of such meetings. Mr. Jack C. Corbett, Assistant Adviser on International Economic Affairs, shall continue to serve as Assistant Executive Secretary of the Board.

"The provisions of this Order shall be effective immediately and shall supersede and cancel the provisions of any existing Order in conflict therewith."

APPOINTMENT OF ASSISTANT IN CHARGE OF SPECIAL RELIEF PROBLEMS

[Released to the press February 5]

Mr. Lithgow Osborne has been added to the staff of the Honorable Herbert H. Lehman, Director of Foreign Relief and Rehabilitation Operations, as Assistant in charge of special relief problems. Mr. Osborne already has begun operating in his new post.

Under his assignment Mr. Osborne will deal with special problems of relief and rehabilitation in the foreign field as distinguished from the general program for extension of mass relief to distressed civilian populations.

A resident of Auburn, N. Y., Mr. Osborne served as Conservation Commissioner for the State of New York from 1933 until last year. Prior to his work in New York State he was associated with the Department of State.

He was private secretary to the Honorable James W. Gerard when the latter was Ambassador to Germany in 1915 and later became Third Secretary of the United States Embassy in Berlin, serving in that capacity until 1917 when diplomatic relations were broken with Germany.

He was Secretary of Legation at Habana, Cuba, and later served in the Legation at Copenhagen, Denmark. He was attached to the American Peace Commission in Paris in 1919, afterward serving in the Department of State in the Western European Division. He was Assistant Secretary-General at the Washington Disarmament Conference in 1921-1922.

More recently Mr. Osborne was Chairman of the New York State Automotive Rationing Committee, in charge of rationing and pooling of all State-owned automobiles, tires, and automotive equipment.

Treaty Information

WATER POWER

Agreement With Canada for the Temporary Raising of the Level of Lake St. Francis

By an exchange of notes dated November 10, 1941 an agreement was entered into between the Government of the United States and the Government of Canada for the temporary raising of the level of Lake St. Francis during low-water periods. The agreement was to remain in force until October 1, 1942.

By a second exchange of notes, dated October 15, 1942, both Governments agree to continue the agreement in force until October 1, 1943.

The purpose of the agreement is the conservation of the supply of power in the lower St. Lawrence.

The exchanges of notes will be printed in the Executive Agreement Series.

STRATEGIC MATERIALS

Arrangement for the Purchase of Fats, Oils and Oilseeds

Canada

By a note dated November 12, 1942 the Canadian Minister at Washington informed the Secretary of State that the Canadian Government adheres to the recommendations for action under the Memorandum of Understanding, dated May 13, 1942, between the United Kingdom and the United States for the purchase of oils, fats, and oilseeds available to the United Nations throughout the world. (See the BULLETIN of October 3, 1942, page 791.)

Publications

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Reciprocal Trade: Agreement and Supplemental Exchanges of Notes Between the United States of America and Peru—Signed at Washington May 7, 1942; effective July 29, 1942. Executive Agreement Series 256. Publication 1836. 37 pp. 10¢.

Publications of the Department of State (a list cumulative from October 1, 1929). January 1, 1943. Publication 1860. iii, 34 pp. Free.

Legislation

Supplemental Estimates of Appropriations for the Department of State: Communication from the President of the United States transmitting supplemental estimates of appropriations for the Department of State for the fiscal year 1943, amounting to \$770,000 [\$250,000 for cost-of-living allowances, Foreign Service, and \$520,000 for the Foreign Service Auxiliary]. H. Doc. 66, 78th Cong., 1st sess. 2 pp.

U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE: 1943

For sale by the Superintendent of Documents, Washington, D. C.—Price 10 cents - - - - - Subscription price, \$2.75 a year

PUBLISHED WEEKLY WITH THE APPROVAL OF THE DIRECTOR OF THE BUREAU OF THE BUDGET